

cheaply, and keep hogs and chickens, they could then afford to work cheaper; and the proprietor, while he was getting more than common interest on his houses, would receive a handsome profit from the manufacture of his baskets. Fifty men could work in a building costing \$1,500; at least \$250 per year would be realized from the labor of each man.

Mr. calculations may appear large to some; but I speak understandingly on this subject, and entirely within bounds.

WATSON G. HAYNES,
Garrison's Landing, Putnam Co., N. Y.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1851.

No room this week for a notice of the Christiana Trials, or the President's Message.

TO OUR FRIENDS—PUBLIC PRINTING, ETC.

Several of our friends seem to think they cannot obtain new subscribers without a Prospectus. Below they will find one, which, we hope, will satisfy them. Three numbers more will close this volume. Let us see what can be done between this and the 1st of January next.

It is as well here to correct a prevalent mistake. An impression has gone abroad that the *Era* has at last obtained the Printing of the Executive Departments. It is not so. It is conceded on all hands that it is entitled to it. The law is explicit. "It directs that all notices, &c., issuing from any of the Executive Departments shall be published 'in the two papers at the seat of Government having the largest permanent subscription.' It is not intended by anybody that the *Era* has a larger permanent subscription list than any paper published here; and according to the opinion of the Attorney General, rendered in answer to an application from one of the Secretaries, its right under the law is incontestable. In ordinary cases, this would be decisive. The opinion of the Attorney General on points of law are regarded by the Executive Departments as binding. But this is not an ordinary case. The fact of the appearance of official advertisements in the *National Era* might offend the South, and jeopard the prospects of the Administration or certain members of the Administration at that quarter. Owing to this reason—we speak plainly—owing to this reason, but one of the Secretaries has acted on our application. The others have refused to reply. For more than a month has our application been before them; but this Administration, which claims, as its special glory, that it stands ready to enforce the law, North and South, without regard to consequences, shows no readiness to obey the law.

We have not obtained, nor is it probable that we shall obtain, the Printing from the Departments. It is our legal right, but anti-slavery men must expect a rigid execution of the law, only when it is against them. As we said once before, this denial of justice damages our interests less than the character of the Administration. The law requires its advertisement to be made in the two papers at the seat of Government having the largest permanent subscription, but it tramples the law under foot, and gives them to the *Intelligencer* and *Union*, the *Era* having a larger permanent list than the former, by 5,500, than the latter, by 7,000!

What "Higher Law" can it plead for this?

PROSPECTUS OF THE SIXTH VOLUME OF THE NATIONAL ERA.

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR; JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

The *National Era* is an Anti-Slavery, Literary, and Political Newspaper, published weekly, at Washington, D. C., by G. Bailey. Its character may be learned by the following statement of principles.

We believe—
In the unity and common origin of the human race.

In the doctrine that God made of one blood all the nations of men, to dwell upon all the face of the earth.

In the golden rule—"Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you."

In the Higher Law—"It is better to obey God than man."

In Liberty, as the fundamental condition of Human Progress and Perfection.

In Law, as the Defense, not Destroyer, of Liberty.

In Order, as the result of Liberty established and protected, not subverted, by Law.

In the American Union, not as an end, but as a means—a means to the establishment of Liberty and Justice, worthy of support only so long as it shall answer these great ends.

"We hold these Truths to be Self-Evident—"

"That all men are created equal:"

"That they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights;

"That to secure these rights Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

"That whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

We hold these Truths to be applicable at all times, to all men, of whatever clime or complexion, and are therefore the uncompromising foe of all forms of Slavery, personal, political, spiritual, whether at home or abroad; and the advocate of all laws and usages having a tendency to equalize the conditions of all men, to secure to all equal opportunities for the enjoyment of liberty, acquisition of property, and pursuit of happiness.

These are the Principles that have controlled and will continue to control us in conducting the *National Era*, which is responsible for no Party, as no Party is responsible for it, owing allegiance alone to God and Humanity.

The Literary Department of the *Era* speaks for itself. To the corps of contributors who have hitherto enriched it, we shall add from time to time as our means shall warrant.

Much attention will be devoted, during the ensuing Congress, to the preparation of concise, clear, and accurate reports of its proceedings and debates, with such explanations and comments as may be deemed necessary.

The terms of the paper are as follows:

Single copy, one year - \$2
Three copies, one year - 5
Five copies, one year - 8
Ten copies, one year - 15
Single copy, six months - 1
Ten copies, six months - 8

Voluntary agents are entitled to retain 50 cents on each new yearly, and 25 cents on each semi-yearly, subscriber, except in the case of clubs. Twenty-five cents is the commission on the renewal of an old subscriber.

A club of three subscribers (one of whom may be an old one) at \$5, will entitle the person making it up to a copy of the *Era* three months; a club of five (two of whom may be old ones) at \$8, to a copy for six months; a club of ten (five of whom may be old ones) at \$15, to a copy for one year.

Money to be forwarded by mail, at our risk.

CAUCUS MOVEMENTS—CLASSIFICATION, ETC.

The Democratic members of the House held a caucus on Saturday night, for the purpose of selecting candidates for the various offices to be filled in the organization of the House. Against Mr. Young, the Clerk of the last House, no objection had been made in any quarter. He was a faithful and diligent officer, but his re-election would prove nothing. Mr. Forney, the editor of the *Pennsylvania*, the champion of Mr. Buchanan, the devoted supporter of the Slave Power and all its pretensions, was an aspirant for the place, and neglected no opportunity to promote his own prospects.

In accordance with the policy of the *Union* newspaper, of the Virginia Democracy, and other Southern men sympathizing with them, it was thought proper to propose resolutions in advance, committing the Democratic members of Congress and their constituents to the Compromise and Fugitive Law. The resolutions were made as unobjectionable in terms as the nature of the subject would allow, simply declaring, as we understand, that the adjustment measures of the last Congress were to be regarded as a final settlement of all questions of slavery. This movement was regarded as highly important; for, if successful, it would bind the Democratic members, taking part in the caucus, to resist all attempts to disturb in any way the Compromise and Fugitive Law, or to discuss any question connected with Slavery. I was an attempt to get up a new gag-law to establish a test, which would either exclude a large portion of Democrats, or compel them to sacrifice their convictions.

President King, Mr. Cleveland, and others concurring in opinion with them, determined to defeat this insidious movement. Without any special desire to play the part of agitators, they determined, nevertheless, to maintain in their party freedom of discussion and action.

Some ninety Democratic members of the House, (including Mr. Rantoul of Massachusetts, Preston King of New York, Mr. Cleveland of Connecticut,) from both sections of the country, met in caucus, and chose Mr. Richardson of Illinois to preside. Mr. Stanton of Tennessee and Mr. Hall of Missouri acted as Secretaries. Major Polk of Tennessee introduced the resolutions we have mentioned. Motions to amend, so as to make them more comprehensive and stringent, followed. Great differences of opinion soon became manifest. Mr. Stanton moved a reference of the whole subject to the next National Democratic Convention.

At last, on motion of Mr. Carter of Ohio, after a spirited speech from him, the resolutions were laid upon the table by a vote of 50 against 39. The caucus refused to declare that the adjustment measures of the last Congress were a final settlement of all questions of Slavery. Mr. Bayly of Virginia, Mr. Jones of Tennessee, and other Southern members, we learn, took their leave and left the caucus after this decision.

The following gentlemen were then nominated as candidates: Hon. Linn Boyd of Kentucky for Speaker; Mr. J. W. Forney, editor of the *Pennsylvania*, for Clerk; Mr. Gloss-brenner of Pennsylvania for Sergeant-at-Arms; Mr. Z. W. McKenney, clerk in the House, for Doorkeeper; Mr. Johnson of Virginia for Postmaster.

It will be observed that Messrs. Rantoul, Preston King, and Cleveland, went into the caucus, and took part in its action. This will not surprise those who remember that they have never separated from their party. They have exercised heretofore the right of maintaining and acting out their own convictions, on the Slavery Question, in opposition to party requirements, and, if we understand them, their purpose is still to maintain this position. We presume that the defeat of the attempt to impose upon them the support of the *finality* of the Adjustment measures, as a test, removes, in their judgment, any obstacle to their action with the Democratic party. Whether the slaveholders will agree finally to act upon this platform of national toleration, remains to be seen.

It is rather difficult now to classify the members of Congress. The *Union* newspaper, and following it, the *Republican* and the *New York Evening Post*, adopt the old division, Democratic and Whig. In another column we publish a list of the members of both Houses, in which we preserve their classification, placing the names of Whigs in italics, and Democrats in Roman; but adding to certain names the denomination, *Independent*, to show that they are, for the most part, independent of party.

We thus designate Messrs. Hale, Chase, and Sumner, of the Senate; and, of the House, Messrs. Tuck and Perkins, New Hampshire; Allen, Mann, and Fowler, Massachusetts; J. W. Howe, Pennsylvania; Giddings, Townsend, Campbell, and Newton, Ohio; Durkee and Doty, Wisconsin; total, 12. Messrs. Tombs and Stephens are put down as Constitutional Union men, and possibly Mr. Foote may come under the same denomination.

On all questions connected with Slavery, Messrs. King, Cleveland, and Rantoul, though acting now regularly with the Democratic party, will maintain their known position.

Another point. The Coalition that elected Mr. Sumner to the Senate of the United States had been denounced fraudulent—and some leading Whigs had gone so far as to declare it indictable at Common Law! The question whether his election was fair or fraudulent, whether he was or was not a fair representative of the Principles of Massachusetts, was

submitted, among others, to the People. It was one of the issues made by the Whig Press. The People have pronounced their opinion; and that is—Mr. Sumner was honorably elected, and is a fair representative in the Senate of the United States of the Principles of Massachusetts.

So Mr. Sumner may congratulate himself that, though unassisted by any large Party, he stands forth, endorsed by a Sovereign State.

KOSUTH.

Type of two mighty continents' combining
The strength of Europe with the warmth and glow
Of Asian sun and prophecy—the shining
Of Orient splendor on Northern snow!
Who shall receive him? Who, unobscured, speak
Welcome to him who, while he strove to break
The Austrian's chain from Magyar necks, struck at
At the same blow the fetters of the serf,
And reared the altar of his Fatherland,
On the broad base of justice, and the glory
Lifting to Heaven a pure and honest hand,
Mocked not the God of Battles with a lie!
Who shall be Freedom's mouth-piece? Who shall give
His welcome cheer to the Great Fugitive?
Not he, who, all his sacred trusts betraying,
Is scourging back to Slavery's hell of pain
The swarthy Kosuths of our land again?
Not he whose utterance now, from lips designed
The bugle-march of Liberty to ring,
Himself that, though unheeded, breaks the light—
The keen reveller of her morn of fight—
Is at the deep base of the bloodhound's baying,
The brute's howl around the bondman's fight!
Oh! for the tongue of him who lies at rest
In quietude beneath the breaking light—
Last of the Parthian Tribes, and the best!
To lend a voice to Freedom's sympathies,
And hail the coming of the noblest guest
That Old World wrong has given the Young World
Of the West.

J. G. W.

It can scarcely be necessary to say that there are elements in the character and history of the great Hungarian leader eminently worthy of the admiration of even those who question the expediency and rightfulness of an appeal to the sword for the redress of political wrong.

KOSUTH, THE GUEST OF THE NATION.

Kosuth was received in England by the people, not the Government. The Government, constrained by the popular voice, had interposed efficiently in his behalf, but had not invited him to become the guest of the nation.

For its services in his behalf he felt bound to land in England, and testify his gratitude to the people. But it was they, not the Government, that received him. Audience with the Queen or her Ministers he had not—and the aristocracy stood aloof.

This Government, not having the fear of Austria or Russia before its eyes, has acted differently. The Representatives of the people and the Senators of thirty-one States, in Congress assembled, invited Kosuth to our shores, and the Chief Executive, under their direction, dispatched a national vessel to bring him hither.

The resolution under which he comes, is as follows:

COPIED FROM "THE STATUTES AT LARGE."
A RESOLUTION for the relief of Louis Kosuth and his associates, exiles from Hungary.

Whereas the People of the United States sincerely sympathize with the Hungarian exiles, Kosuth and his associates, and fully appreciate the magnanimous conduct of the President of the United States in receiving and treating those noble exiles with kindness and hospitality; and whereas, if it be the wish of these exiles to emigrate to the United States, and the will of the Sultan to permit them to leave his dominions: Therefore—

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be and he is hereby is requested to authorize the employment of some one of the public vessels which may be now cruising in the Mediterranean Sea, and the will of the United States the said Louis Kosuth and his associates in captivity.

Approved, March 3, 1851.

Coming among us, under this resolution, we presume, that the President and Congress will feel it their duty to receive him with due honor. Meantime, would it not be well for Congress to call upon the President for copies of correspondence between any of our officials abroad and the Executive, respecting Kosuth and his companions? What we suggested in our first article in relation to the infamous calumnies against the noble exile, circulated in this country some time since, is confirmed by further information. The American Consul at Marseilles, Mr. Hodge, should be held responsible for them. We are assured that he is under the control of Austrian and reactionary affinities, and that he had the audacity grossly to insult the man whom nations honor. If such be the fact—if it be true that a petty Austrian Consul has dared to insult a man whom the People of the United States, through Congress, had invited to a home among them, and who was sheltered under the national flag, the People ought to know it; and his prompt dismissal, with a reprimand to any person in the employment of the Government who may have countenanced his conduct, is due to their honor and hospitality, due to the dignity of the Government, due to the illustrious exile. The flag of the Union should secure a man not only against violence from Austrian, but insult from American employes.

While on this subject, we are reminded of the intermeddling of this same Consul in another quarter. We have published the following from the *Allegheny*:

FRENCH IMMIGRATION—NUMBERS, CHARACTER.
"Mr. Hodge, the United States Consul at Marseilles, has written a letter to the Collector at San Francisco, advising him of the fact that among the passengers from Europe, a great many are of the very worst class of desperadoes, and that he has reason to believe some have been sent away at Government expense. Mr. H. says a French merchant had mentioned to him that his letters from San Francisco spoke of the arrival there of some 500 passengers from that country, and among them a great many malefactors."

"The subject having been brought before the Vigilance Committee of San Francisco, a Committee was appointed from that body to inquire and report. They waited upon Mr. Dillon, the French Consul, who assured them that his Government would never sanction the shipment of felons to this country, and that passengers from every port in France always come duly accredited by an agent of the Government, who assigns every passport and credential. Mr. D. referred to the general good character and deportment of the French population of California, and suggested that all immigrants to the country should be required to obtain an endorsement of their passports by the American Consul at the port of embarkation."

"The Committee also waited upon Messrs. Mariotti & Co., agents of the vessels which are to transport some five thousand French immigrants to California in the course of the coming year. Mons. Matthey, the representative of these vessels, promised his sincere belief that these would be a valuable addition to the country. They were made up of mechanics, laborers, and agriculturists, who, while bettering their own condition, would add wealth to the country by assisting to develop its resources."

"Such assurances and explanations appear to have been satisfactory to the Committee, who are relying on the efforts of their protect our State from the importation of foreign convicts and the pauper and depraved population of Europe. Of such as these, they have already caused hundreds to leave our shores, and still the 'good work goes bravely on.'"

When we take into consideration Mr. Hodge's conduct in regard to Kosuth, and his violent reactionary notions, the suspicion is at once awakened that the French emigrants, whom he denounces as "desperadoes," are French Republicans, sickened at the petty

tyranny of Louis Napoleon, and anxious to find a home, where they can secure against the persecution of a despotic police.

Let the matter be looked into.

THIRTY-SECOND CONGRESS.

The United States Senate, when full, contains sixty-two Senators. There will be three vacancies at the opening of the session—one from Connecticut, one from Mississippi, and one from California.

Two of the three vacancies are sure to be filled by Democrats, that of Connecticut is doubtful. When the Delegates from California and Mississippi take their seats, the Senate will stand 24 Democrats, 24 Whigs—Democratic majority 13.

The following is a list of the Senate, as it will stand at the opening of Congress.

SENATE.

WILLIAM A. KING, PRESIDENT.

DELAWARE. Term expires
Maine. Term expires

James W. Bradley 1853 Henry S. Paine 1857
Hannibal Hamlin 1857 Henry S. Paine 1857

NEW HAMPSHIRE. Term expires
John P. Hale (Ind.) 1853 Solomon W. Downs 1853
Moses Norris, Jr. 1855 Pietro Spina 1855

VERMONT. Term expires
William P. Johnson 1853 S. P. Chase (Ind.) 1857
Moses Norris, Jr. 1855 Benjamin C. Clark 1857

MASSACHUSETTS. Term expires
John A. Andrew 1853 Jos. R. McKim 1857
Chas. Sumner (Ind.) 1857 Henry Clay (Ind.) 1855

RHODE ISLAND. Term expires
John A. Andrew 1853 John A. Andrew 1857
John A. Andrew 1857 John A. Andrew 1857

CONNECTICUT. Term expires
James C. Jones 1857 James C. Jones 1857
James C. Jones 1857 James C. Jones 1857

NEW YORK. Term expires
Tracy 1857 James W. Whitcomb 1855
Tracy 1857 James W. Whitcomb 1855

NEW JERSEY. Term expires
Hamilton A. Douglass 1855 Stephen A. Hildesheim 1855
Hamilton A. Douglass 1855 Stephen A. Hildesheim 1855

PENNSYLVANIA. Term expires
Robert P. Stockton 1857 David S. Walcott 1857
Robert P. Stockton 1857 David S. Walcott 1857

MARYLAND. Term expires
Richd. D. Brodhead, Jr. 1857 Solon Borland 1855
Richd. D. Brodhead, Jr. 1857 Solon Borland 1855

DELAWARE. Term expires
James C. Jones 1857 James C. Jones 1857
James C. Jones 1857 James C. Jones 1857

MISSISSIPPI. Term expires
Presley Spruance 1855 Lewis Cass 1857
Presley Spruance 1855 Lewis Cass 1857

LOUISIANA. Term expires
James A. Bayard 1857 Alpheus S. Johnson 1853
James A. Bayard 1857 Alpheus S. Johnson 1853

FLORIDA. Term expires
Thomas A. Parrot 1855 Stephen R. Mallory 1857
Thomas A. Parrot 1855 Stephen R. Mallory 1857

ALABAMA. Term expires
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FIRST DAY OF THE SESSION.

The Senate was decorous and quiet, as usual, the first day of the session. The House was the scene of some excitement. The galleries were crowded, the lobbies full, and the members generally in their seats. The roll having been called, the Harmony men showed off their well-known attributes as peace-makers. Mr. Jones of Tennessee, speaking, we suppose, in behalf of the Democratic seceders from the Caucus, who were unwilling to vote against Linn Boyd, and yet afraid of the effect of the rejection of the resolutions of Compromise of Saturday night, arose, and stated that he should vote for Mr. Boyd, because he knew him to be a sound Democrat, a tried and true Compromiser and Union man. Mr. Carter of Ohio announced that he should support him, because he was the nominee of the Democratic party. "That is it!" exclaimed a good many voices, proceeding from those who were unwilling that their votes should be construed into a commitment to the Compromise Policy.

Mr. Stanley feared that something was the matter on the other side of the House. He would like to know something about the coalition here. He boasted of the adoption of the Compromise resolution by the Whig side of the House, in Caucus, and said that there had been a secession on account of it. Had these measures been repudiated on the other side? Mr. Campbell said he had nominated Mr. Stevens, who was a sound Whig and as true a Union man as lived. As to the Compromise measures, he hoped gentlemen who were so opposed to agitation would not open the question so soon in the session.

Mr. Brooks of New York rejoiced to announce that the differences in the Whig party had been healed, and the Compromise measures had been adopted in their Caucus. Had Mr. Boyd been nominated on the sole ground of his devotion to the Compromise and Fugitive Law, he would have supported him. He proceeded to contrast the position of the Whig party, whose Caucus had adopted the resolutions in favor of Compromise, with the Democratic party, whose Caucus had rejected them, the object being to win Southern favor.

Mr. Meade of Virginia ridiculed the pretensions of the Whig party to be the true friends of the Compromise, appealed to the action of Whig Conventions at the North, and enlarged upon the devotion of such men as Douglas, Buchanan, Cass, Dallas, &c. It was the old story over again—a strife between servile Democrats and Whigs, as to which party had done more for Slavery, shown more subservience to its demands. A member characterized it as a debate on the question, who had eaten most dirt?

In the course of the debate, the proceedings of the Whig Caucus, held just before the opening of the session, were fully canvassed. It seems that some forty or fifty Whigs were present in caucus—a majority from the North. The following resolution was introduced:

"Resolved, That we regard the series of acts known as the adjustment measures, as forming, in their mutual dependence and connection, a system of compromise the most conciliatory, and the best for the entire country, that could be obtained from conflicting sectional interests and opinions; and that, therefore, they ought to be adhered to and carried into faithful execution, as a final settlement, in principle and substance, of the dangerous and exciting subjects which they embrace."

Being substantially the resolution laid upon the table in the Democratic Caucus. There was discussion, but at last it was adopted. Mr. Fowler expressed the opinion that one-third voted to lay on the table. Mr. Cabell of Florida said he really believed not more than five or six voted against it. It is certain that it was adopted by a decisive majority. Mr. Fowler and some others left the Caucus, declaring that they would not be bound by any such resolution.

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